DISARMAMENT

Newsletter

Newsletter of the
World Disarmament Campaign
Volume 8, Number 2
April 1990

United Nations

Contents

President Havel visits the UN..... 2
Budgets and military expenditures..... 3
Peace dividends..... 4
Developments in conventional arms reductions..... 5
Open skies..... 5
Disarmament issues: an interview with Ambassador Jayasinghe..... 6
Amendment conference planning update..... 9
Climatic effects update..... 10
Chemical weapons..... 11
Recent activities of the UN Centre in Africa..... 12
Confidence-building in the Asia-Pacific region..... 14
From military to civilian production..... 15
Fourth NPT Review Conference... 15
NGO news items..... 16

The cover photograph shows members of a Soviet tank regiment accepting gifts and flowers in 1989 as they leave the Prenzlau district of the GDR to go to the Kiev area of the Soviet Union for demobilization. (Photo credit ADN, Berlin)

Information published by the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs may be requested from Room S-3100, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017, USA; or from the Geneva Branch of DDA, Palais des Nations, Ch-1211, Geneva 10, Switzerland; the Regional Centre for Peace and and Disarmament in Africa, B.P. 2705, Lomé Togo; the Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, Mcal. Blas Cerdeña 450, San Isidro, Lima, Perú or the UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific, P.O. Box 107 Pulchowk, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Disarmament Newsletter
April 1990 - Vol.8 No.2
The Disarmament Newsletter is published bi-monthly by the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs

President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia meeting with UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar at United Nations Headquarters on 22 February 1990. (UN Photo)

President Havel visits the UN

22 February 1990 was the day an agreement was initialled in Prague concerning the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Czechoslovakia. It was also the day President Vaclav Havel called on United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and conducted a brief press conference at UN Headquarters.

President Havel answered questions and commented on his recent talks with President Bush. In reply to a question on the presence of NATO troops in Western Europe, he said that he and President Bush understood each other better than many a journalist used to think.

When asked if Czechoslovakia wished to participate in talks on the unification of Germany "to ensure that your boundaries remain as they are today", he said the final legalization of a unified Germany would be the outcome of negotiations involving all of Europe as well as the super-Powers, but his country did not seek to participate in those talks, although it understood Poland's desire to do so.

At the press conference, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Marian Calfa, also answered a number of questions on European security.

Prime Minister Calfa said that Czechoslovakia agreed with the United States position that NATO troops in Western Europe, including in Germany, would be a stabilizing factor. However, he added, in the future, European stability should not be based so much on military forces. A new security system should be developed to replace that "which arose during the period of confrontation". Such a new system should make the presence of any foreign troops in any country unnecessary. In a truly democratic European order, he said, everyone would have to carry a responsibility. "In the long run, it is impossible for others to pay for our security."

In answer to another question, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Jiri Dienstbier, said it was important that his country play a much more substantial role in the United Nations than it had played until now.

Budgets and military expenditures

Military budgets are coming down in Europe and North America. World annual military expenditures that reached a peak of some 900 billion dollars in 1987 have levelled off and the two largest elements – expenditures by NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries – are starting to fall.

Troops are beginning to be demobilized and weapons dismantled, and plans are being drawn up to close several military bases and to phase out some orders for new weapons systems.

Budgets for the 1990s that were initially planned to go up in current dollars and thus to remain about level in constant-dollar buying power, have been revised downward. Lawrence Korb of the Brookings Institution has prepared a 40-year tabulation of defence authorizations in the United States. The results show a remarkably constant commitment to defence spending which now, for the first time in 40 years, is starting to change.

According to this tabulation, ever since 1951, the United States authorized annual defence expenditures equivalent to some 265 billion 1990 US dollars. Although the current-dollar numbers were smaller at the time when the dollars were worth more, the average buying power each year was about the same as $265 billion today.

In three periods the average annual authorization was higher than the overall 40-year average: during the Korean War when it was $357 billion, during the Viet Nam war when it was $276 billion and during the 1981-1990 period when it was $310 billion.

This US investment in defence took about 6% of its GNP (but 25% of national governmental (expenditure). In other NATO countries the average was about 3% of GNP. To maintain rough parity in military preparedness, it has been estimated that the Soviet Union has used some 15% to 20% of its GNP.

Now, for the first time since 1951, military budgets are expected to remain about level in current dollars, or even go down. They will not be expanded to keep up with inflation, and thus the real-dollar or constant-dollar purchasing power will go down, resulting in fewer arms and armed forces.

As the political context changes, the perceived need for defence expenditures changes also. Proposed United States cuts in spending for 1991 of about $3.2 billion, bringing the total to $303 billion, are now viewed by many as too small a reduction.

Change is continuous. For instance, the US Senate Budget Committee Chairman proposed a $15 billion cut early in March, and some two weeks later changed the proposal to suggest a $20 billion cut in United States military spending for 1991. Such cuts would include reducing the number of active US Army divisions from 18 to 15 and eliminating two out of 36 tactical fighter wings and one out of 14 aircraft carrier battle groups. Many members of the United States Congress also favour scaling back production of the B-2 bomber, known as the Stealth; cancellation of the MX mobile missile and major reductions in the anti-missile Strategic Defense Initiative programme.

The United States Defense Department has said that it would take a second look at two mobile nuclear missiles, the rail-mounted MX and the truck-hauled Midgetman, for which more than $2 billion was requested for 1991.

The need for a proposed $3.3 billion nuclear attack submarine programme is also being reviewed as is the need for the B-2 Stealth bomber. This is a radar-evading plane which costs some $530 million each. If the full 132 B-2s that were planned are produced at that price, the total cost will be $70 billion. The Defense Department is also restudying plans for advanced Air Force and Navy fighter planes and for a new transport plane.

However, US Defense Department officials have stated that they do not think it would be advisable to cut any of these programmes before the studies reviewing them are completed or before a Soviet-US Agreement is reached on reducing strategic nuclear weapons.

On the question of expenditures on the planned Strategic Defense Initiative anti-missile system, US Defense Department officials told the Senate that the Administration's goal was still to advance research enough so that decisions on whether to deploy the first stage of an SDI system could be taken in 1992. While the SDI research programme is also on the list of commitments being studied, US Administration representatives have said they are not willing to cut that programme substantially.

Rethinking defence expenditures is now being given serious attention in other countries as well as the United States. It is a complex exercise that will demand intensive study.

Peace Dividends

While it is clear that there will be savings culled from reduced defence spending in various countries in the next few years, how much can be saved is less clear.

Later issues of the *Newsletter* will address this question as it affects a number of countries.

In the United Sates, several projections have been made including studies by William Kaufmann of the Brookings Institution. He has developed one model that shows how it would be possible to cut US defence spending in half in the next ten years. Instead of spending about $300 billion as now, $150 billion would, according to this model, go for defence in 2000.

He proposes that the largest reductions should be in conventional forces and weapons since this is where the largest segment of military expenditure is found.

Reductions in US troops in Europe from 305,000 to 225,000 are already envisaged in the Conventional Forces in Europe talks. By 1992 that would save about $7 billion a year in the US defence budget. Further developments could trigger further US cuts. In such a situation by, for instance, keeping only 75,000 troops in Europe and at the same time eliminating the support divisions in the United States that have backed up the forces that would be demobilized, it is estimated that it would be possible to save a further $26 billion a year.

A reduction of US Navy carrier battle groups from 14 to 12 by 1994 would be possible, saving $6 billion a year, and reducing them to six by the year 2000 could save an additional $22 billion a year.

Beyond reductions in conventional forces, a slow-down in nuclear modernization would be crucial to creating a peace dividend, according to William Kaufmann. Instead of expanding annual expenditures to upgrade nuclear systems from $52 billion in 1990 to some $87 billion by 2000 as now planned, by slowing modernization, costs could be kept under $30 billion a year. A START treaty would help make it safe to limit the technological development of nuclear weapons.

United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, on 16 September 1989 in the Görlitz district of the GDR observing the dismantling of some of the 600 tanks which the GDR announced it would dismantle or refit for civilian use.

Deferring more procurement of the B-2 Stealth bomber would mean that there would not be more than the 16 already authorized. This would save some $5 billion a year even if flight testing continued to perfect the B-2 efficacy in being able to locate and destroy mobile missiles. Cancelling the mobile basing of 50 MX missiles would save $4 billion between 1991 and 1995, and would be justified in view of the reduced numbers of Soviet land-based missiles.

The 50% reductions by 2000 model could also include a lower investment in the Strategic Defense Initiative programme – spending $3 billion a year instead of the projected $5.4 billion would save $16 billion between 1991 and 1995 and would nonetheless permit robust research.

Another $3 billion could be saved in the next five years if only one of the two new plants which the Department of Energy wants to manufacture nuclear weapons is built, and billions more would be saved by cutting back warhead production. START reductions would allow most nuclear material to be recovered from dismantled warheads.

Even if the money saved would be used to pay for deficits and restructuring, creating a peace dividend would have its own reward in reducing tensions and the risk of conflict.

READEX FICHE

Open Skies

The Ottawa session of the Open Skies Conference achieved large areas of agreement on the "open skies" proposal to permit joint aerial surveillance over the 23 countries of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Troops of the 32nd Soviet tank division bid farewell to children in the Jüterbog district of the GDR (Photo credit: ADN, Berlin)

It was agreed that a quota of surveillance missions should be drawn up and that 24 hours notice should be given before starting a flight. It was also noted and recognized that air safety requires the advance submission of flight plans.

Everyone at Ottawa also agreed that the planes engaged in the "open skies" overflights should be unarmed and that an observer from the country being overflown should be on board. Although a variety of sensors could be used, electronic eavesdropping signals should be banned.

It was also agreed to review points of difference at the Budapest meeting of the Open Skies Conference later in the year. The Soviet Union asked that the overflying aircraft should share all their data with the country being observed. It also wanted to create a system of shared costs, process the data in one location and have all 23 countries pool the results. This would tend to prevent States with more advanced technology such as the United States from making exclusive use of their advantage.

The Soviet Union has proposed that the number of overflights per year by each alliance be limited to 25-30 while the United States has suggested that there be130-140. The areas over which the aircraft would fly still need to be agreed.

Young citizens of the GDR say goodbye to Soviet tank regiment troops in the Neubrandenburg district.
(Photo credit: ADN, Berlin)

The main purpose of the "open skies" proposal is to introduce a new confidence-building measure. It would provide higher-resolution aerial surveillance than satellites and at lower costs and allow the participating States that do not have surveillance satellites to independently monitor areas of particular interest or concern.

Developments in conventional arms reductions

At the Ottawa Open Skies Conference , Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze stated that the Soviet Union had agreed to the proposal to put a ceiling for each super-Power of 195,000 troops in Europe's central zone and for the United States to keep an additional 30,000 troops elsewhere in Europe.

This proposal was first made by President Bush in his 31 January State of the Union address when it became clear that earlier plans to set ceilings at 275,000 troops for each super-Power were too high, given the rapid pace of political change in Europe.

The Ottawa agreement is seen as reflecting a recognition that the Soviet forces pulled back will be withdrawn relatively short distances across land, while US forces must be withdrawn several thousand miles across an ocean. The 30,000 US troops outside the central zone would be at bases in the UK, Spain, Italy, Greece and Turkey.

A CFE Conventional Forces in Europe agreement appears closer now than seemed possible when President Bush first suggested that it should be finalized by the end of 1990.

Disarmament issues: an interview with Ambassador Edmond Jayasinghe

Ambassador Jayasinghe of Sri Lanka is Chairman of the consultations of the States parties to the partial test-ban Treaty regarding the arrangements for the forthcoming amendment conference. The interview here covers a range of topics that relate to the future of disarmament.

Q: With rapid East-West arms reductions now, how do you see the future of reductions world-wide?

A: What is happening today is very encouraging. In fact one could say unprecedented. There seems to be a greater desire to come to terms with disarmament. The most encouraging aspect is the commitment to give practical expression to this desire. The major theatre of concentration at present is Europe. This is natural in terms of the historical perspective of war and the present military buildup. However, present targets and the areas in which arms reductions are contemplated will not take us anywhere close to a satisfactory level of reduction of arms, leave alone general and complete disarmament which is the ultimate goal to which all UN Member States are committed. The question now is how and how soon we can get there.

A: How would you answer that question?

Q: It is a very complicated matter, and primarily rests with the political will of States, particularly the nuclear Powers and other militarily strong members of the international community. However, we should not become discouraged. Whatever positive factors have emerged and irrespective of their source, we should pick them up and work on them resolutely. We have already witnessed some positive results – lessening of tensions at the global and regional level, greater movement towards settlement of some of the long-standing regional disputes, enhancement of confidence among the member countries of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the signing of the INF Treaty and agreement to reduce conventional forces in Europe are some of the welcome developments. In the third world and the non-aligned movement we are eagerly waiting to see how this shift of policy in military and security matters will affect resources for economic development. Unless we attack the root causes of massive armaments on a broad front, our achievements could prove short-lived.

Q: What do you think will happen first to broaden the disarmament agenda beyond Europe?

A: That is extremely important. If we talk of global security and peace, then all corners of the globe should be brought into the effort. Of the three broad types of modern armaments – nuclear weapons, other weapons of mass destruction such as biological and chemical, and conventional – the second and third categories are not confined to Europe in their manufacture and possession, and even nuclear weapons capability is not limited to Europe. Also, one should note that all the major conflicts since the Second World War have been outside Europe. Thus there is a pressing need to extend the disarmament agenda beyond Europe. The proliferation of nuclear capability is a major preoccupation and this is a question that should be addressed in a global context.

Q: Are you concerned about vertical proliferation of the weapons of existing nuclear-weapon States or horizontal proliferation to more States?

A: Both. It is no secret that the existing nuclear arsenal is constantly subjected to refinement and technological research. This escalates vertical proliferation. On the other hand there are about six countries beyond the existing nuclear-weapon States that are frequently described as possessing nuclear-weapon capability, and there are others that are equipped to achieve this capability if they wished. With all our good intentions and safeguards we have not been able to completely prevent the transfer of nuclear know-how and fissionable material to countries that could use such acquisitions for other than the peaceful development of nuclear energy. So it is a major and a real concern. This is where we have to work to curb both horizontal and vertical proliferation. The strengthening of the NPT and resolute efforts to achieve a CTBT therefore become a pressing issue.

Q: You referred to six near-nuclear-weapon States. Are they parties to the PTBT?

A: Yes, they are PTBT members, but not parties to the non-proliferation Treaty.

Q: How does this affect what can be done now?

A: This is where the controversy and the difficulty lie. Both the NPT and the PTBT address the question of nuclear disarmament partially, allowing vertical and horizontal proliferation. As long as the provisions of these Treaties are not adequate to check proliferation and fail to secure the commitment of the full membership of the international community, we have to look for other avenues. This is where the question of a CTBT becomes relevant. To proceed to that end, the

best means available is the PTBT. As you are aware, the PTBT was the outcome of the inability of the international community to agree on a larger programme, that is, a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The overall objective of the PTBT remains the achievement of a CTBT. If that is achieved we do not have to depend on the NPT. Until such time we should attempt to strengthen both Treaties and also reinvigorate the attempts of the international community to enlarge the PTBT to a CTBT.

Q: Do you think the PTBT amendment conference could help encourage serious negotiations on these issues in the CD in Geneva?

A: Yes. Certainly it can send a strong message to the CD, expressing the dissatisfaction of the overwhelming majority of the international community on its failure so far to initiate any meaningful action towards the achievement of nuclear disarmament and on the urgency to initiate such action. The forthcoming amendment conference in a way is an attempt to pass judgement on the performance of the CD. As to how the amendment conference could encourage the CD, I am confident it will explore all possibilities.

Q: In the non-aligned statement from Belgrade you made reference to a time-bound programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. How do you see that working out?

A: Some nuclear Powers favour a step-by-step approach to nuclear disarmament. Looking at their own preoccupations this is understandable although this is not to the satisfaction of the members of the non-aligned movement. If we are to operate within such constraints then the question will be one of pacing the steps and seeing how enthusiastically and vigorously each step should be followed. The non-aligned movement in this connection on the whole is unhappy at the dragging pace. So in practical terms it becomes a balancing of forces. I think the aim of a timetable is primarily to keep the pressure on.

Q: Should one consider what would be the preconditions to going beyond the present reductions in Europe and the proposed 50% strategic reductions?

A: I presume that in the European context the main reasons for the ongoing arms competition are mistrust and the desire to dominate, and both are set in the framework of rival power blocs. So, if one wants to go beyond the limits you mentioned, one ought to remove these constraints or preoccupations. Confidence-building and verification measures can play a complementary role in this process. Acceptance of the concept of collective security as envisaged in the UN Charter certainly can facilitate such a process. On

Ambassador Edmond Jayasinghe of Sri Lanka

the whole the lessening of tension due to improved super-Power relations can be expected to contribute positively. As events unfold, there are proposals for NATO and the WTO to play a political role. Beyond Europe the question of regional stability becomes especially important. Achieving this will depend on both interregional and extraregional factors. The basic ingredients are a full commitment to the UN Charter, political will and the removal of the idea that there is always an enemy even if one is not in view.

Q: How could one remove the perceived need for contingency planning that implies that nuclear weapons need to be kept in place because there might be an enemy in the future?

A: If we keep on chasing preconceived notions such as the " enemy illusion", there will never be an end to the arms race or to the nuclear threat hanging over all of us. Such preoccupations and preconceptions are man made. And thus the solution will also have to be found by mankind. One has to take a sensible look at the whole question. This is not a question of lack of vision but a case of misguided purpose with too much focus on the military. The alternative is to strengthen multilateralism by greater reliance on it and greater commitment.Then there would be no need to keep nuclear weapons in place in anticipation of an enemy in the future.

Q: How can the multilateral process be activated more, especially for disarmament?

A: Multilateralism can be activated only with greater commitment to it. It should not be thrown to the periphery, but should go hand in hand with bilateralism. The era of isolation has outlived its value. There should be greater commitment to a proces that would recognize that disarmament is not the prerogative of the few; the entire international community is

affected and needs to be involved. Only such broad participation will be able to stand the pressures and the tests of time. The multilateral approach has worked well in the resolution of a number of regional conflicts, it has yielded practical results. The same would apply in the field of disarmament. What is needed is a change of commitment.

Q: If one had a genuine defensive defence approach rather than trying to use nuclear capacity as political muscle to influence international events, would that make a major difference?

A: It certainly would. The policy of dominance and the policy of deterrence have thus far been linked to highly destructive capabilities. Now it appears that, while the super-Powers continue to talk of the policy of deterrence, they are prepared to bring it down to a minimal level. That would minimize risk and tension and also reduce the high cost of maintaining such a volatile posture. This would be more prudent as such resources could be gainfully used for the welfare of humanity. There is a crying need for such redirection of resources.

Q: The idea of defensive defence is discussed widely in Europe to change force structures to just defend national territory. Has this idea caught on in Asia and elsewhere?

A: Not really. However, one factor must be emphasized. The non-aligned countries never recognized the policy of deterrence. They only recognize the level of armament necessary for national defence. The ceiling is that.

Q: Considering that one of the big areas of expenditure relates to conventional weapons, what do you think should be the limits in that domain?

A: Certainly there is no need for conventional arms beyond the level that is needed to look after national security. Anything beyond that, nationally, regionally or globally is unacceptable. The reduction of arms and disarmament should deal with all categories of arms; one should not be at the expense of another. Only then can stability and peace be achieved.

Q: How does that tie in with the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace?

A: The aim of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace is twofold. One deals with the extraregional power presence. The other deals with an appropriate code of conduct for the States in the region. Both elements have to cover nuclear and also conventional aspects of disarmament.

Q: As military threats to security are reduced, in what way do you think one can switch to more focus on reducing the non-military threats to security that come from environmental degradation and a lack of economic development?

A: This is a new concept which is discussed widely. It has merit in various ways. In the economically developed countries, I presume more discipline and regulation has to be brought in to avoid or lessen degradation of the environment. If we think about a "common European home" to use Gorbachev's term, there again there will have to be a massive transfer of funds, both at Government-to-Government level and in the private sector. The success of democracy will depend on a readiness to back political change with appropriate economic programmes.

Q: How does this relate to the rest of the world?

A: Outside Europe, there is a particular need for a transfer of finance, technology and science and for better terms of trade to remove the causes of instability. This would mean revitalizing the North-South dialogue. There is a pressing need to address some of the basic problems which are an insult to human dignity, to deal with the need for food, shelter, and access to clean water, health services, education and employment. Other urgent issues concern debt, deforestation, desertification and other global environmental concerns. All these problems constitute threats to stability and security at the national, regional and global levels.

Q: What do you see as the best way to prevent less from being more so that reductions in numbers of weapons are not counterbalanced by technological advances in the weapons that remain?

A: That is a major problem. Many weapons and delivery systems are being refined, and many experiments have been geared to that. The achievements in the field of disarmament are nullified by these efforts which add more sophistication to the types of nuclear weapons and the delivery systems that remain. The numerical reduction of weapons will be largely meaningless if this process continues. The issue of technological proliferation is appearing increasingly in disarmament agendas and we should address it without further delay. Of course a comprehensive test ban would provide one way to stop the continuous upgrading of nuclear weapons; that would be one way to address this issue.

Q: What would make that objective more practicable?

A: The major driving force behind many of the issues concerning disarmament is negative political will. With the requisite positive political will the international community is capable of finding remedies to any issue. We should have enough trust and confidence in ourselves to do what is needed.

Destruction of some of 41 ground-launched cruise missiles and seven launchers at Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, Arizona, USA in October 1988 further to the INF Treaty of 1987 on the elimination of US and Soviet intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles (Photo credit: US Department of Defense)

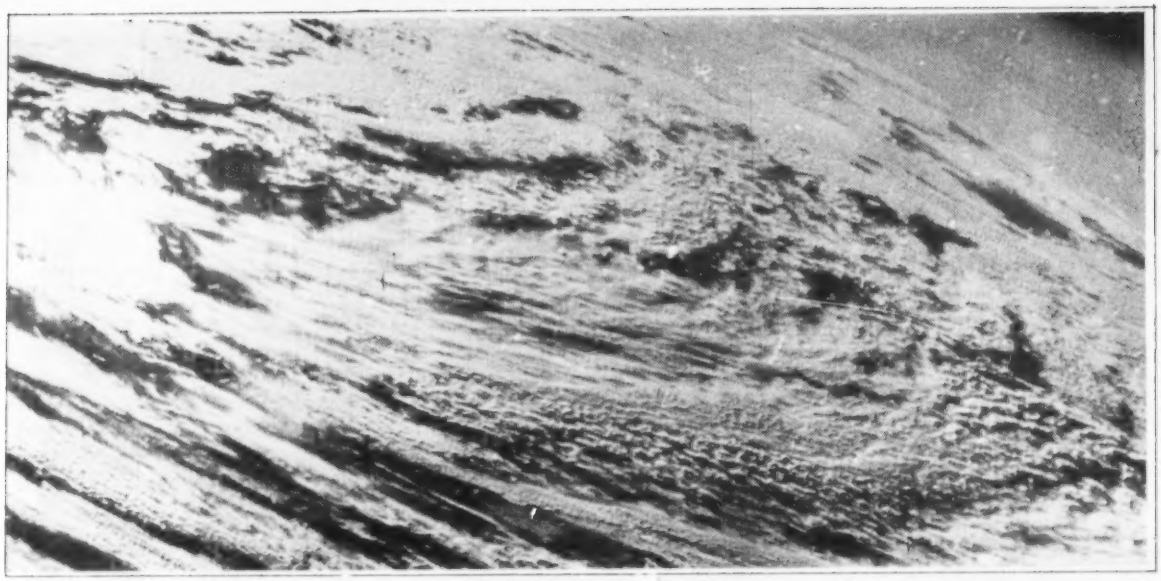
Q: In that case how can one engender the political will required to move forward?

A: Current super-Power co-operation is the most encouraging development in this regard. Once the super-Powers agree, many things fall into their proper perspective. At the same time they can be persuaded and assisted to go further by the complementary behaviour of other members of the international community. All of us have distinct and recognized roles to play. The role of one group of States is not subordinate to that of any other; all are complementary. Public opinion, particularly in the countries which have made the greatest contribution to armaments, has an important role to play. In the Western democracies this is an important element in fashioning national policies. In Eastern Europe, the strength of public opinion is being demonstrated more clearly than was ever thought possible. In the South and elsewhere, greater awareness of the need for disarmament should be promoted. It is a question of building up world public opinion. This combined with leadership committed to disarmament would mean that no task would be insurmountable. We need to look at the question from the point of view of a world in which it will be increasingly recognized that we have no enemies. At the same time we do have problems. These are not insurmountable, and it is well within human capacity to deal with these problems, provided we divert our attention and our abilities to that task.

Amendment conference planning update

On 8 March, the parties to the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water (the PTBT or partial test-ban Treaty) held a brief meeting at which it was agreed that a Meeting will be held in New York for the organization of a conference from 29 May to 8 June and that the conference will be held, also in New York, from 7-18 January 1991.

The question of how to finance the conference will also have to be agreed on before more substantial preparations are expected to begin. Whereas a majority of parties are of the opinion that the UN scale of assessment should be the guideline for distributing the costs among the parties, some – including some of the major contributors to the UN budget – feel that the costs should be divided more equally.



Storm cloud cover over the Pacific Ocean as seen from the Apollo 9 space flight in 1969. (Photo credit: United Nations/NASA)

Climatic effects update

A United Nations study in 1987/88 found that a major nuclear war could produce effects which might extend far beyond the regions where such weapons had been employed and would entail a high risk of global environmental disruption. This would include a significant reduction in the amount of sunlight and warmth reaching the Earth's surface owing to smoke, dust and soot in the atmosphere, and a major interference with normal weather patterns leading to areas of abnormally low temperatures or lack of precipitation affecting crop growth.

The UN study was one of several analyses in recent years that have helped to refine the findings from the early 1980s on the risks of "nuclear winter".

A recent review published in the January 1990 issue of the journal *Science* says that over the past five years many significant refinements have been made to the original nuclear winter theory, but that these adjustments have offset each other to a large degree so that relatively minor changes have occurred in the predicted effects.

The cooling predicted in the 1982/1983 studies was that summer temperatures would drop by 15 degrees to 25 degrees centigrade over large areas of the northern hemisphere. The 1990 estimates say that the drop would be 10 degrees to 20 degrees centigade or 18 to 36 degrees Fahrenheit.

While the amount of soot that would be generated is now thought to be less than was predicted in 1983, the proportion of this soot that would stabilize in the upper atmosphere is now estimated as much higher. Studies of the optical and physical properties of sooty smoke have made these predictions more accurate.

Remarkably, the *Science* article states, all the climate analyses carried out over the last five years predict strong cooling beneath extended smoke clouds.

Not only would these clouds last a long time, but also the solar heating of the soot particles from above would lead to accelerated interhemispheric transfers and persistent effects in the southern hemisphere. This would disrupt precipitation patterns and lead to drought. The calculated reduction in rainfall during the acute phase of a soot-cloud scenario would be drastic. Most of the simulation studies forecast failure of the summer Asian monsoon.

The persistent soot-cloud cover would also severely deplete the stratospheric ozone layer in the northern hemisphere. Recent studies indicate that the heated nuclear smoke pall, rising into the northern hemisphere stratosphere would physically displace the ambient ozone layer toward the southern hemisphere, and the smoke-borne nitrogen oxides would photochemically erode the remaining ozone in the northern hemisphere. Thus, according to the studies, the northern ozone layer would be reduced by 40% to 50% on average and lead to increased ultraviolet solar doses of 100% or more reaching Earth at middle latitudes for a year or longer after the smoke had cleared.

Chemical Weapons

During their 7-9 February meeting in Moscow, US Secretary of State Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze reaffirmed their commitment to the elimination of chemical weapons world-wide.

To this effect, the joint statement says, "they will work to expedite the negotiations in Geneva with the view to resolving main outstanding issues as soon as possible and to finalizing the draft convention at the earliest date."

Later, in the 40-nation Conference on Disarmament, the United States circulated the joint statement from Moscow and explained that the agreement to eliminate all but a very small portion of chemical weapon stocks in the first eight years of a treaty would put the convention "on a faster track" by avoiding delay in its entry into force.

With the continuation of the Soviet-US co-operation demonstrated at Moscow, the draft convention would be able to come into force right away. Thereby, it was explained, if success could be achieved in the first eight years, it would be possible to go all the way to zero chemical weapons in ten years. In any case, the convention with its reductions, production ban, export controls and secretariat would be in place.

The Soviet Union told the Conference on Disarmament that it understood that the reductions in the course of eight years implied that the remaining stocks would have to be eliminated in the subsequent two years.

It stressed that it was not convinced that completion of destruction of the remaining stocks during the final period of the ten years should be dependent on the accession of particular States, although it shared the concern that the convention should enjoy the participation of all States.

Ambassador Said Rajaie-Khorassani of Iran, in January 1984, presenting samples to reporters in support of his statement that chemical weapons had been used against his country. (UN Photo 163216)

The Soviet Union also reiterated its view that the future convention should contain provisions for banning production of chemical weapons from the moment it enters into force.

France, as the outgoing Chairman of the CD Chemical Weapons Committee, reported on the results of the 1989 session. These included work on inspection procedures, the beginning of a compromise on challenge inspections, arrangements for a scientific advisory board, work on the annex on limiting production of prohibited chemicals and methods for revising the lists of prohibited chemicals.

The Chairman also stressed the need for expert advice for the implementation of the future convention. He stated that a long-awaited "decisive breakthrough" was not necessarily what was needed to achieve agreement on the convention. He underscored the interrelationship between political and technical problems and advised against any expectation that "short cuts" could overcome obstacles. He also reiterated the importance of the participation of non-members of the CD in the work on the convention, and the participation of new partners such as the chemical industry.

A number of UN Member States have followed the work of the CD on chemical weapons and 30 States have been admitted as observers to the CD.

Recent activities of the UN Centre in Africa

A Workshop for senior African military and civilian officials on conflict resolution, crisis prevention and confidence-building among African States was held in Arusha, Tanzania from 5-16 March. There were 63 participants including 23 guest speakers. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, gave the keynote address.

Mr. Salim said that in spite of recent decreases, Africa still spent more on arms than on education, health or social development even though most border areas remained calm. He said per capita income continued to fall and about half the currency earned outside Africa went to service a debt of $250 billion owed lenders abroad. Such factors were inimical to stability and security. He said Africa had to look to itself for answers, to co-ordinate efforts for collective self-sustaining economic development.

A freeze in popular participation in the political process and a resultant agitation of people for such participation had led to a state of latent friction between people and their Governments, especially in countries where there had been frequent military coups. Consequently there had not been adequate opportunities for people to release their creative energies and apply them to development. At the same time Governments had spent extensive resources, time and manpower on security. The resulting vicious circle of agitation and containment had applied brakes to development. Despair had led to cynicism and self-doubt which Mr. Salim said posed the greatest long-term threat to Africa's security.

90 ARUSHA-TANZANIA
RENFORCEMENT DE LA CONFIANCE ENTRE LES ETATS AFRICAINS
5-16 MARS 1990 ARUSHA-TANZANIE
ORGANIZED BY
ITED NATIONS REGIONAL CENTRE FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT IN AFRICA
OPERATION WITH THE CENTRE FOR FOREIGN RELATION OF TANZANIA
ORGANISE PAR
CHAIRMAN

Participants in the Arusha Workshop, from left to right: Mr. Ahmed Hassan Diria, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Tanzania, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, UN Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and Mr. Taher Shash, Representative of President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, current Chairman of the OAU.

On the specific subject of conflict resolution, Mr. Salim said there was a need to build a grass roots constituency for the OAU in all African countries so that recourse to OAU mediation mechanisms would become a reflex action built into the national political conscience. He called for building a new peace culture that would recognize the virtues of peaceful processes.

Among all the methods of conflict resolution, management or prevention, Mr. Salim said the confidence-building approach held the most promise. By greater transparency in military procurement and deployment, neighbouring countries could progressively retreat from confrontational relationships. This would entail weaving into the fabric of the doctrines of the defence establishments in Africa an exchange of information on military capacities, joint training programmes and joint manoeuvres.

Regional co-operation was itself a confidence-building measure that led to contact and promoted understanding and an economically-based motivation for the prevention of conflict. The more countries have at stake jointly, the greater is their motivation for peaceful relations.

As a confidence-building measure, he suggested that when there was a disputed border area, the countries concerned could come together to develop the area in a shared enterprise. This would implicitly recognize the common ownership of the parties in the disputed area and transform it from a centre of conflict to a theatre of co-operative endeavour.

The concept of common heritage should be applied to disputed border areas to strengthen

co-operation and reduce conflict, Mr. Salim continued. He cited the Kagera River Basin Development Organization and the Organization of the States of the Great Lakes as examples of such co-operation.

In his Opening Statement, UN Under-Secretary-General Yasushi Akashi referred to the initiative of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State or Government in 1985 in the establishment of the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa.

Mr. Akashi said the present Workshop was aimed at meeting part of the objectives sought by the UN General Assembly when it had established the regional centre in Africa in 1986: to serve as a forum through which the world-wide experience, expertise and resources of the UN in the field of peace and security can be channelled to the service of regional security needs in Africa.

Other topics covered included a general overview of African contemporary political, military and economic affairs and their relationship to peace, security, disarmament and confidence-building among African States, introduced by Ambassador Oluyemi Adeniji of Nigeria, and militarization of African affairs and its implications for peace and development in the region, introduced by Ambassador Olara Otunnu , President of the International Peace Academy, and confidence-building measures in Africa, addressed by Ambassador Paul Rupia of Tanzania.

United Nations Assistant Secretary-General James Jonah discussed the role, techniques, principles and procedures of mediation, negotiation and arbitration for the UN in the field of conflict resolution, and Lt. Gen. Emmanuel Erskine of Ghana described the principles and methods of military co-operation among African States and the UN and OAU roles in the field of peace-keeping.

The Arusha Workshop was organized by the United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa based in Lomé, Togo in co-operation with the Centre for Foreign Relations of Tanzania.

In 1989, from 14-18 August, a similar Experts Workshop was held at the Regional Centre headquarters in Lomé, also organized by the United Nations Regional Centre. Over 40 leading African and international scholars and eminent personalities concerned with issues of peace, security and development in Africa attended. At that time, the keynote address was given by General Obasanjo, the former Head of State of Nigeria and Chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum.

The Lomé workshop made proposals on specific ways and means for preventing and resolving inter-State conflicts in Africa by peaceful means so as to prevent the diversion of the continent's limited resources from development to military objectives.

The participating experts also drew up an agenda of possible areas for future research and study aimed at enhancing peace and progress in the African region. The areas of research agreed on include the military and development; confidence-building measures and other non-military measures; the OAU and the maintenance of peace in Africa; and education, culture and human rights.

Funding for the research project, including the Experts' Workshop, included grants from the United States Institute of Peace and from the Ford Foundation in New York.

ATELIER D'EXPERTS POUR ETABLIR UN PROGRAMME
DE RECHERCHE SUR LA PAIX ET LE PROGRES EN AFRIQUE
LOME-TOGO 14-18 AOÛT 1989
EXPERTS WORKSHOP TO DEFINE A
AGENDA FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS
LOME-TOGO 14-18 AUGUST
UNITED NATIONS REGIONAL CENTRE FOR PEACE AND DISARMAMENT IN AFRIC
CENTRE REGIONAL DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LA PAIX ET LE

Participants in the Lomé Workshop, from left to right: Mr. Joseph Findlay, Director, UN Information Centre, Lagos, Nigeria, Mr. Sammy Kum Buo, Senior Political Affairs Officer, DDA, representing UN Under-Secretary-General Yasushi Akashi, Mr Yaovi Adodo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Togo and General Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria.

Confidence-building in the Asia-Pacific region

Forty-three experts and diplomats took part in a meeting in Kathmandu, Nepal from 29-31 January on confidence-building measures in the Asia-Pacific region.

In a closing statement, United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs Yasushi Akashi, gave a personal summary of the discussions.

The meeting had examined a number of CBM models in Europe and elsewhere. In Europe these measures had facilitated the disarmament process. They had begun with the Helsinki Final Act which was broad in scope covering economic, social and cultural co-operation, human rights and the flow of information and people.

Discussing the relevance of the European experience for Asia and the Pacific region, participants in the meeting said this had value, but clearly could not be adopted wholesale. They also felt that premature timing should be avoided. Different security perceptions and asymmetrical impacts of some CBMs on different countries were cited as possible difficulties, as was the claim that some measures might undermine deterrence and thus increase the risk of war.

An incremental, step-by-step approach to CBMs was considered more feasible than an all-embracing approach. Concentration on any single type of CBM, or even on a limited number of measures was thought to be too narrow and many participants felt that the focus should be broader than military aspects to also include political, economic, social and other non-military measures to enhance confidence among States.

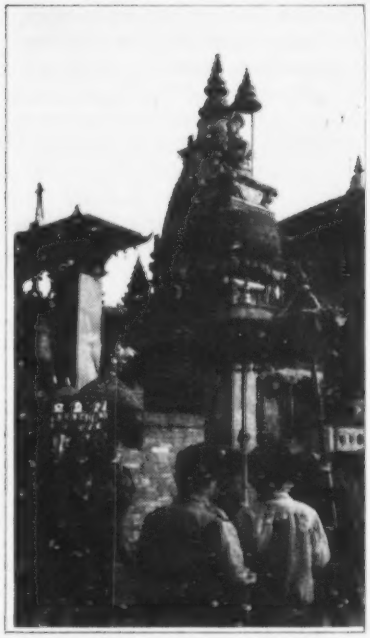
There was also considerable discussion of whether CBMs should precede or follow a co-operative political relationship. It was clear that both types of approach should be adopted.

Specific confidence-building measures that were discussed included the value of personal contacts between decision and policy makers including military personnel to provide a better grasp of each other's security concerns.

A number of participants referred to the fact that the Asian-Pacific countries have one or several maritime boundaries and that this provided opportunities to pursue naval CBMs among various subregions in a vast geographical area.

The meeting had noted that a broad value-sharing process had been instituted in Europe through the Helsinki Final Act and the Stockholm document, but that there was no region-wide counterpart in the Asia-Pacific region.

Care should be exercised to assess what ingredients are necessary to build the foundations of mutual confidence, it was said. In this connection, in addition to governmental political leaders and officials, non-governmental organizations, scholars, educators and journalists were seen as important components of public opinion.



Participants cited examples of economic and political co-operation among States belonging to various subregional organizations such as ASEAN, SAARC and the South Pacific Forum.

There was an exchange of views on non-offensive defence and on non-provocative strategies and defence concepts and it was felt that these ideas should be examined further. It was also pointed out that doctrines and deployments would have to match political intent, and that this would require clearer demarcations between what is offensive and defensive.

In spite of the complexity of divergent security perceptions and geopolitical, cultural and historical circumstances, various confidence-building possibilities needed to be explored to the full because of the unspeakable destructiveness of modern warfare, the burden of arms expenditures and the sheer absurdity of a vicious circle of self-feeding hostility which could easily become unmanageable.

Fourth NPT Review Conference

The Fourth Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) will take place at the Palais des Nations in Geneva from 20 August to 14 September 1990. It is expected that a large number of non-governmental organizations and research institutes will wish to attend as observers.

Organizations that wish to participate should fill out the pre-registration form that is being circulated with this issue of the Disarmament Newsletter. The return of these forms will help the Department for Disarmament Affairs plan the arrangements needed for participation by institutes and NGOs, but it will not be viewed as a firm commitment to attend. Please note that the expenses incurred in participation will need to be borne by the organization sending a representative or by the representative.

From military to civilian production

"Conversion: Economic Adjustments in an Era of Arms Reduction" is the title of a conference to be held in Moscow from 13 to 17 August this year. The conference is being sponsored by the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs with the co-operation of the Soviet Peace Fund.

In the context of a fast-changing international situation and actual significant reductions in arms and armed forces, the subject of conversion and economic adjustment has acquired new practical relevance. The aim of the conference is to promote a well-informed debate on the subject and to facilitate a wide-ranging exchange of national experiences on the adjustments needed to shift segments of an economy's production and employment into providing civilian goods and services.

The conference will meet in plenary sessions and in three working groups. The main topics will be conversion concepts and approaches, national experiences in the field and specific issues of conversion such as manpower, military hardware and industry.

Approximately 100 participants are being invited from international agencies dealing with issues of labour, industry, finance, trade and development, from research institutes and from public interest organizations. The format of the conference is being organized to encourage intensive discussion and maximum participation.

New Publications

The United Nations Disarmament Yearbook, Vol. 12, 1987 (Spanish), Sales No. S.88.IX.2

Disarmament: A Periodic Review, Vol. XII, No.2, 1989 (French), Sales No. F.89.IX.4

Disarmament: A Periodic Review, Vol. XI, No.3, 1988 (Russian), Sales No. R.88.IX.4

Disarmament Publications; Publications of the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs, Fifth Edition

African Security Perceptions and Requirements Including Related Regional Issues (United Nations Regional Disarmament Workshop for Africa, 3-7 April 1989, Lagos, Nigeria)

Problems and Perspectives of Conventional Disarmament in Europe, Proceedings of the Geneva Conference 23-25 January 1989, published for UNIDIR by Taylor and Francis New York, London), 1989 (also forthcoming in French).

NGO news items

The brief report below on activities of non-governmental organizations includes some of the events and programmes of an international character which have come to the attention of the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs. The coverage does not imply any judgement by the United Nations.

The Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute organized a one-day workshop on 15 April at Boalt Hall School of Law, University of California-Berkeley on PEACE LAW. It will address using the US Constitution and laws, the United Nations Charter and the Nuremberg Principles in the daily work of the lawyers, scientists, civic leaders, media workers and educators who will participate in the meeting. The plenary session will address the basics of peace law as set out in the UN Charter, the Nuremberg principles, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the US Constitution Acts of the US Congress, Treaties, UN Agencies and the World Court. **Contact:** Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701 (Tel: 415-848-0599).

Peace Links is seeking pen pals to correspond with some of the 4,000 Soviet citizens who answered a letter to the editor that Peace Links had sent to *Pravda* and *Izvestia* inviting Soviet readers to correspond with Americans of similar ages with similar interests. The writers live in all 15 Soviet republics and include doctors, engineers, lawyers, students, farmers, housewives and journalists. Volunteers do not need to be members of Peace Links. To become a correspondent, **Contact:** Peace Links, 747 Eighth Street SE, Washington D.C. 20003 (Tel: 202-544-0805).

The Tavistock Peace Action Group and the South West Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the UK have organized a one day conference on 21 April at Tavistock Town Hall, Tavistock, Devon, England. The conference theme is New Notions of Peace. Specific topics include the UN peace-keeping role, the role of non-violent direct action, nuclear weapons and the law, the psychology of conflict, the economics of the arms trade, common security, new weapons technology, European defence strategies, the future of defence jobs and taking on Trident. **Contact:** TPAG Conference, NNOP, 51 West Street, Tavistock, Devon PL19 8JZ (Tel: 0822-617504 or 0822-616304).

The University of Melbourne, Australia, will hold its ASPAC 1990 Conference on Disarmament, Security and Co-operation in the Asia-Pacific Region from 4-8 July. The aim of ASPAC is to help shape and strengthen the growing movement for disarmament, security and co-operation in the Asia-Pacific region. It will provide a forum for active participation and dialogue with only 13 invited speakers. Topics for the conference panels will include Militarization, Resolving Regional Conflicts, New Approaches to Security and Demilitarization, Security, Ecology, Justice and Economy and the Role of Social Movements/Networking and Campaigning in the Region. Registration should be in by 4 May. **Contact**: ASPAC 1990, GPOBox 336C, Melbourne 3001, Australia (Tel/ 61-3-663-8080, Telex ASPAC 1990 AA38151, Fax: ASPAC 1990, 61-3-348-1270)

Nouvel Humanisme is promoting a bicycle tour by Soviet cyclists through France. The tour will go from Moscow to Paris from 6 May to 14 July. It is being made in response to a similar cycle tour from Paris to Leningrad organized by George Krassovsky for a group of French retirees during the summer of 1989. The theme of the 1989 tour was human rights, and the theme this year is the preservation of nature. Groups or individuals wishing to participate or offer hospitality in France shoud **Contact:** Nouvel Humanisme, BP 163, 75664, Paris CEDEX 14.

World Citizens Assembly and the Medical Association for Prevention of War and some dozen other organizations are organizing a Conference in New York City, 13-15 October 1990, on Building a More Democratic United Nations. The provisional programme includes the following topics: representing "we the peoples" in the UN system; representing NGOs, present status and future possibilities; parliamentarians and the UN; democratic reform of the UN General Assembly; NGO contributions to peaceful resolution of disputes; academics and UN reform. From 11-13 October, there will be a related Conference, also in New York, of World Citizen's Assembly. Papers on the above topics are requested, as is early registration of $25 for each Conference before 1 August, compared to $35 later. **Contact**: World Citizen's Assembly in New York or San Francisco, or the Medical Association for Prevention of War in London: WCA, 2820 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109, USA (Tel: 415-474-9773), WCA, 301 East 45 St. New York, NY 10017, USA. (Tel: 212-983-3353), MAPW, 308 Cricklewood Lane, London NW2 2PX, UK.